

Message Text

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ACTION AF-18

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R 191155Z JUL 74

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 463

INFO AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL LUANDA

USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA 1500

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PO, MZ, ZA

SUBJ: ZAMBIAN COMPROMISE SUGGESTION FOR PORTUGUESE TALKS
WITH FRELIMO

1. FOREIGN MINISTER MWAANGA TOLD US ZAMBIA HAS PUT FORWARD TO GOP AND FRELIMO COMPROMISE SUGGESTION OF PROVISIONAL COALITION GOVERNMENT IN MOZAMBIQUE FOR DISCUSSION AT SECOND MEETING IN LUSAKA POSSIBLY IN EARLY AUGUST. ZAMBIA CONSIDERS THIS PROPOSAL AS WAY OUT OF DEADLOCK RESULTING FROM FIRST MEETING IN JUNE WHEN PORTUGUESE INSISTED ON REFERENDUM AND FRELIMO DEMANDED TRANSFER OF POWER EXCLUSIVELY TO ITSELF AND INDEPENDENCE. PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR MARK CHONA ALSO SPOKE OF PROVISIONAL COALITION GOVERNMENT IDEA IN VIEW OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SEARCH OF SOLUTION FOR LIBERATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

2. MWAANGA TOLD AMBASSADOR JULY 18 IT HAD NOT BEEN EASY TO BRING TWO SIDES CLOSER TOGETHER AFTER DISAPPOINTING JUNE 5 - 6 MEETING AT LUSAKA BUT THAT ZAMBIA HAD FINALLY
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PERSUADED FRELIMO TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS IN LUSAKA IN

FIRST DAYS OF AUGUST ON BASIS OF ITS PROPOSAL THAT FRELIMO AGREE TO FORMATION OF PROVISIONAL COALITION GOVERNMENT IN WHICH IT WOULD BE DOMINANT ELEMENT WITH PARTICIPATION OF OTHER POLITICAL ELEMENTS. AS EXAMPLE, MWAANGA MENTIONED INCLUSION OR PLACE FOR MOZAMBIQUE DEMOCRATS WHO VISITED LUSAKA JUNE 21 - 26. (LUSAKA 1359).

3. ASKED ABOUT ROLE OF JORGE JARDIM IN SUCH A PROPOSAL, MWAANGA ADMITTED THAT FRELIMO AND JARDIM HAD FOUGHT ONE ANOTHER AND "HATE ONE ANOTHER'S GUTS, "BUT THAT ZAMBIA HAD CONVINCED JARDIM FRELIMO WAS LEADING POLITICAL POWER WITH WHICH HE WOULD HAVE TO DEAL IF HE WANTED TO CONTINUE IN MOZAMBIQUE. ON OTHER HAND ZAMBIANS CONVINCED FRELIMO THAT THEY WOULD NEED SUPPORT OF ALL ELEMENTS IN MOZAMBIQUE FOR SUCCESSFUL GOVERNMENT, FURTHER THAT MEN OF JARDIM'S BUSINESS EXPERIENCE AND ABILITY COULD BE CONSTRUCTIVE ELEMENT IN FUTURE OF MOZAMBIQUE. MWAANGA SAID ZAMBIANS CONVINCED FRELIMO THAT DELAYS HAD PROVEN UNPRODUCTIVE AND REALISTIC COMPROMISE NECESSARY IF THERE WAS TO BE STEADY MOVEMENT TOWARD INDEPENDENCE. ALSO DREW ON ZAMBIAN INDEPENDENCE EXPERIENCE IN ARGUING THAT ALL POINTS OF VIEW NEED BE HEARD AND ACCOMMODATED.

4. FONMIN EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT THAT USG HAS NOT SEEN ITS WAY CLEAR TO INFORM ITSELF DIRECTLY AT "REASONABLY HIGH POLITICAL LEVEL ABOVE AMBASSADOR" ABOUT INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES OF FRELIMO AND QUALITY ITS LEADERSHIP. MWAANGA HOPED REVIEW OF US POLICY WOULD RESULT IN CHANGE WHICH WOULD PERMIT CONTACTS WITH DOMINANT POLITICAL FORCES WHICH WILL INEVITABLY GOVERN FREE MOZAMBIQUE.

5. CHONA INVITED AMBASSADOR TO STATE HOUSE ALSO ON JULY 18 FOR REVIEW OF PROSPECTS FOR CONTINUING PORTUGUESE-FRELIMO TALKS. SAID THREE PRESIDENTS, KAUNDA, NYERERE AND SAMORA MACHEL (SIC) WERE OF ONE MIND ON NEED FOR FORWARD PROGRESS AND SUCCESS AT SECOND ROUND OF TALKS WHICH HOPEFULLY COULD RESUME IN LUSAKA SOON. ZAMBIAN SOUNDINGS WITH PORTUGUESE AND FRELIMO REVEAL NO BASIC DIFFERENCES ON FOUR KEY POINTS: PRINCIPLE OF ULTIMATE INDEPENDENCE; REPRESENTATIVITY OF FRELIMO; GRADUAL TRANSITION OF POWER
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TO RESPONSIBLE AUTHORITY; AND FORMATION OF PROVISIONAL COALITION GOVERNMENT IN WHICH FRELIMO WOULD BE DOMINANT ELEMENT. HOWEVER, PARTIES DID NOT REALLY NEGOTIATE AT FIRST MEETING, BUT MUST DISCUSS THESE ISSUES AT NEXT.

6. CHONA PLACES LESS EMPHASIS ON PARTICIPATION OF ALL POLITICAL ELEMENTS IN MOZAMBIQUE THAN MWAANGA. IN FACT

HE MADE IT QUITE CLEAR THAT COREMO ("WITH THE IMPOSSIBLE JOAN SIMAO") WOULD PROBABLY BE EXCLUDED, WHILE THERE COULD BE A PLACE FOR PEOPLE LIKE JORGE JARDIM AS LONG AS HE TALKED PEACE AND WAS GENUINE, AS HE HAD IN RECENT LUSAKA VISIT. CHONA DESCRIBED JARDIM AS MOST REPENTENT, OPEN MAN ABOUT HIS PAST WHOM HE HAD EVER MET. HE DID NOT BELIEVE JARDIM WORKING AGAINST PURPOSES OF FRELIMO (LOURENCO MARQUES 580). MWAANGA EARLIER DESCRIBED JARDIM AS "HAVING SUED FOR PEACE."

7. CHONA SPOKE WITH CONSIDERABLE FEELING IN ASKING WHY PORTUGUESE WHO HAD FORMED PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT FOR THEMSELVES COULD NOT DO SAME FOR MOZAMBIQUE. ARGUED REFERENDUM HAD NOT BEEN ISSUE IN PORTUGAL FOLLOWING APRIL 25 COUP, NOR HAD MEN LIKE SOARES BEEN PUT TO TEST OF REFERENDUM; RATHER WERE SELECTED BY LEADER.

8. CHONA THEN EXPANDED ON EARLIER ENCOMIA FOR MACHEL AS LEADER. DEPLORED TWO DISTURBING MYTHS WHICH HAVE SPRUNG UP: 1) FRELIMO LACKED POPULAR SUPPORT BECAUSE OF TRIBAL DIFFERENCES OR SERVICE WITH PORTUGUESE AND ALLEGIANCE TO METROPOLE; AND 2) SPLIT BETWEEN SAMORA MACHEL AND DOS SANTOS. SAID LATTER BLAMED FOR INFLEXIBLE, HARDLINE APPROACH BUT FEW CRITICS REALIZED DIFFERENCES. MACHEL WAS "THE MAO TSE-TUNG OF FRELIMO," STICKING CLOSE TO HIS COMMAND POST THROUGHOUT INSURGENCY, WHEREAS DOS SANTOS WAS ROVING SPOKESMAN FOR FRELIMO REQUIRED TO ADHERE STRICTLY TO LIMITS OF HIS INSTRUCTIONS AND TRAVEL WIDELY TO EXPLAIN FRELIMO'S POSITION OF FIGHT-TO-FINISH MILITARY OPPOSITION TO PORTUGUESE. THUS HIS IMAGE SOMEWHAT DISTORTED BY NATURE OF HIS DUTIES, BUT THERE NO QUESTION OF HIS LOYALTY, CLOSE ATTACHMENT TO AND DEEP RESPECT FOR MACHEL. THIS ESPECIALLY EVIDENT AT OAU
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SUMMIT WHERE ZAMBIANS PUT SANTOS UNDER CLOSEST SCRUTINY AND FOUND HIM WORTHY DEPUTY.

9. CHONA HOPEFUL OF REALLY PRODUCTIVE SECOND ROUND TALKS BETWEEN SOARES AND MACHEL AS SAID THREE PRESIDENTS CANNOT AFFORD BREAKDOWN AND RETURN TO MILITARY SOLUTION. THIS IS NOT RPT NOT WHAT THEY WANT, RATHER IT IS A PEACEFUL SOLUTION.
WILKOWSKI

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